

STAT

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**FINAL EDITION**  
BREEZY, MILD, HIGHS IN  
LOW 80S, LOWS IN MID-60S  
DETAILS, 2A

**MONDAY BLUES ARE BACK AS DOW DROPS 26 POINTS, 4D**  
**COURTING CONTROVERSY: TV MOVIES WILL MAKE YOU THINK, 1B**  
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# The Miami Herald

62 PAGES      TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1986      F.T.      Contents Copyright © 1986 The Miami Herald      KNIGHT-RIDDER LIBRARY CENTS

## Fugitive may be contra supplier

### Cuban exile waging 'war' under new identity, friends say

**Hasenfus formally charged / 4A**

By SAM DILLON  
Herald Staff Writer

A prominent Cuban exile who escaped last year from a Venezuelan prison underwent plastic surgery, adopted a new identity, and uses the same name a captive American flier used to identify the shadowy figure who ran a clandestine operation to supply contra rebels, his friends and acquaintances say.

The exile, Luis Posada Carriles, told a Venezuelan journalist in a May interview in El Salvador that he had begun "a war without quarter" against communism in Central America. He said he underwent extensive plastic surgery in his attempt to adopt a new identity.

In Miami, meanwhile, one of Posada's close friends said Posada has used the pseudonym "Ramon Medina" since his escape, according to a reliable source.

Another friend of Posada said he thinks Posada and the "Ramon Medina" who allegedly helped run an El Salvador-based contra supply operation are the same person.

"This is definitely the same guy," a reliable Cuban American source told The Miami Herald. "Posada's up to his neck in this stuff down there."

The emerging picture of the life of Posada since his mysterious August, 1985 escape from a high-security Venezuelan prison appears to support Nicaraguan claims that he is in fact the "Ramon Medina" fingered by captured American crewman Eugene Hasenfus. Hasenfus was formally charged Monday in Managua.

At the time of his escape, Posada was being held for the 1976 bombing of a Cuban jetliner that took 73 lives.

If true, Posada's participation in the rebel supply network suggests complicity by

Please turn to MEDINA / 4A



Luis Posada Carriles, in file photo, may be contra supplier.

## Star Wars protesters arrested



## Tension apparent in debate

Graham crisp, focused,

Sanitized Copy Approved for Release 2010/06/11 : CIA-RDP91-00587R000200910012-9

# Fugitive exile now contra supplier, friends say

MEDINA/From LA

Salvadoran, U.S. or contra officials in helping an accused terrorist and international fugitive evade Venezuelan authorities.

Posada's wife, Nieves, said in a phone interview this week that she did not believe her husband was the man identified as Ramon Medina. Leonardo Somarriva, spokesman for the contra rebel organization UNO, said he had never heard of either Ramon Medina or of Luis Posada.

Posada, 58, is a fervent anti-Communist, Bay of Pigs veteran, self-described CIA agent, architect of Venezuela's late-1960s counter-insurgency campaign against Cuban-backed guerrillas, and a hero to many Cuban exiles.

## Jailed in Caracas

He was indicted and jailed in Caracas along with three others, including Orlando Bosch, for the October 1976 bombing that destroyed a Cubana Airlines DC-8 minutes after it took off from Barbados for Havana. The crash killed 73, including several North Korean diplomats and the Cuban national fencing team.

Despite nine years of imprisonment and trial on the charges, Posada was never convicted and continues to protest his innocence. He escaped from Venezuela's San Juan de los Morros prison last year and disappeared.

Posada's name emerged last week after Sandinista officials said that Hasenfus, the U.S. captive, had identified Posada from photographs as the man he had known as Ramon Medina, working at San Salvador's Ilopango air base. Hasenfus said he believed "Medina" and his boss, another Bay of Pigs veteran known as Max Gomez, were both CIA agents. Hasenfus' allegations were given strong support when a close friend of Posada disclosed to a reliable source in Miami that Posada has been working in El Salvador and using the pseudonym Posada. The source said Posada's friend has a Central American telephone listing for Posada in his address book under the name of "Ramon Medina."

Posada told his interviewers he had begun a fight to the death and without quarter with Fidel Castro's agents.

have focused attention on a little-publicized interview with Posada by Venezuelan journalist Rafael Del Naranco, published May 12 in the Caracas-based daily El Mundo. Naranco's article, which focused on Posada's escape and new involvement in the anti-Communist struggle in Central America, placed the interview in Central America.

## El Salvador interview

Contacted Monday in Caracas, Del Naranco said he had interviewed Posada in El Salvador.

Del Naranco said that to get his interview with Posada, he flew from Caracas to Miami to Merida in southeastern Mexico, where he was picked up by a small propeller-driven plane that flew him "across two Central American countries" to a dirt airstrip in El Salvador where he spent the night. Later he was blindfolded and taken to another rural location where he met Posada, Del Naranco said.

Del Naranco reported that at the same time and place, a camera crew led by Miami resident Ernesto Avino filmed a three-hour interview with Posada.

Parts of Avino's footage of his interview with Posada were broadcast on Hollywood's Channel 51 two months ago as part of an hour-long Spanish-language documentary called El Caso del Avion Cubano — "The Case of the Cuban Plane."

In the interview, Posada appeared in crisp new camouflage fatigues wearing a false white beard and dark glasses. Seated on a hillside, Posada held an automatic rifle in his lap throughout the interview. A revolver was strapped under his arm.

Posada told his interviewers he had begun "a fight to the death and without quarter with Fidel Castro's agents." Del Naranco said that in his interview, Posada never

plastic surgery since his escape. Nonetheless, Posada's wife Nieves, who lives in Miami, said that when she saw her husband on television she had no trouble identifying him despite his beard and glasses.

"I knew him immediately by his hands and by his voice," Mrs. Posada said. "There's no doubt it was him."

## Beard and glasses

She said that because of the beard and glasses she had been unable to determine if her husband had undergone plastic surgery.

She said she believed her husband had permitted himself to be filmed by friendly interviewers in order to articulate his protests against the Venezuelan justice system that kept him incarcerated without conviction for nine years.

Speaking to The Miami Herald, Del Naranco quoted Posada as saying that he had spent the first month after his escape last year hidden in the home of a former officer of Venezuela's secret police agency, DISIP.

Posada told Del Naranco he later had been taken by small plane to a nearby island, by boat to another, and finally by plane to Central America, the journalist said.

In Del Naranco's published interview, Posada said he had received no help from Venezuelan police during his escape, but that "they didn't do much to find me."

Venezuela's justice minister told reporters last year that Posada's escape had involved the bribing of a prison guard supervisor. Venezuelan press accounts put the payoff at more than \$25,000, a sum financed, according to "unconfirmed Venezuelan reports, by an anti-Castro group.

In San Salvador, the man known as "Medina" lived in a two-story stucco house in the fashionable

"He paid cash every month, one month in advance," the landlord told reporters. "Medina said he was in construction. I figured he worked in the U.S. Embassy. He paid cash, that is all I wanted to know."

After Posada's escape last year, Miami backers organized a showing of his oil paintings in Coral Gables. A biography distributed at the showing said Posada was born Feb. 15, 1928 in Cienfuegos, Cuba and studied industrial chemistry at the University of Havana.

Posada began in 1960 to "struggle internally in Cuba against Castro's Communism, and he entered the CIA at that time," the biography says. After emigrating to Miami, Posada received training at a "clandestine CIA base in the Florida Keys," in map-reading, navigation, aerial photo interpretation, light arms management, and the use of explosives, the biography says.

## 70 infiltrations

Posada made more than 70 clandestine infiltration trips to Cuba before the Bay of Pigs. After the invasion's defeat, he was trained with the 2506 Brigade at U.S. Army Forts Benning and Fort Jackson, the biography says. His work with the CIA also continued, with military participation in the Congo and in Vietnam, the biography says.

He remained a "principal agent" of the CIA until 1967, the biography says. That year he traveled to Venezuela, where his intelligence skills and political connections allowed him to rise to the powerful post of chief of operations of the DISIP, the Venezuelan intelligence service.

His biography credits him with "totally annihilating" several Cuban-trained guerrilla bands that infiltrated into Venezuela in the late 1960s. Posada left the Venezuelan police in 1974 with the reorganization of government that followed the election that year of Carlos Andres Perez, and founded a private security firm.

It was at these private offices that Venezuelan police arrested

direct demonstrations here to set tires ablaze, Salazar said, "not to hurt anyone."

By the lawyers' account, Army forces arrived before the demonstrators could build any barricades, and most of the young people were able to run off. But the lawyers said Rojas and an 18-year-old Chilean, Carmen Gloria Quintana, were apprehended and beaten, then doused with gasoline and set afire.

Rojas died, but Quintana survived. Bush has denied knowing "Medina," whose whereabouts are unknown. So are Posada's.

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The Sandinistas' allegations that Posada is working in the contra supply effort at Ilopango Air Base

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Posada told his interviewers he had begun "a fight to the death and without quarter with Fidel Castro's agents." Del Naranco said that in his interview, Posada never mentioned involvement with the CIA. Nor did he describe the nature of his work.

Posada told Del Naranco that he had "extensive and complicated"

involvement with friendly interviewers in order to articulate his protests against the Venezuelan justice system that kept him incarcerated without conviction for nine years. Speaking to The Miami Herald, Del Naranco quoted Posada as saying that he had spent the first month after his escape last year hidden in the home of a former officer of Venezuela's secret police agency, DISIP.

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In San Salvador, the man known as "Medina" lived in a two-story stucco house in the fashionable neighborhood of Escalon a 20-minute drive from Ilopango. His landlord told reporters that Medina had rented the house six months ago through a newspaper ad and had lived alone.

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It was at these private offices that Venezuelan police arrested him in October 1976, accusing him of conspiring with Bosch to bomb the Cuban airliner.

Sandinista officials asserted last week that Hasenfus had told them he believed that both Max Gomez

## Cuba says it will build third nuclear reactor

From Herald Staff and Wire Reports

Cuban President Fidel Castro announced the construction of a third Soviet-model nuclear reactor in northern Cuba, according to a Havana radio broadcast monitored Monday in Miami.

Soviet and Bulgarian technicians are already building two 400-megawatt pressurized water reactors in Cienfuegos province, 150 miles from Florida.

Castro gave no details about the type of reactor to be built in Oriente or when it would be completed.

U.S. officials and experts don't know for sure if the Cienfuegos nuclear reactors, built at a reported cost of about \$1.8 billion, will be equipped with radioactivity containment structures.

**Church-state feud erupts in Argentina**

BUENOS AIRES — A simmer-

#### News Briefs

ing church-state feud broke into the open Monday, with a legislator denouncing a bishop who denied her communion and a bishop criticizing President Raul Alfonsin.

Deputy Maria Cristina Guzman said in a radio broadcast Monday that a decision by the Roman Catholic bishop of Jujuy, the Rev. Raul Casado, to refuse her the Eucharist constituted meddling in political affairs.

The sanction against her and two other Jujuy deputies was in response to a recommendation by Argentine bishops to deny communion to lawmakers who voted to legalize divorce.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic bishop of the western province of San Luis, the Rev. Juan Laize,

attacked President Raul Alfonsin Sunday for visiting the Soviet Union and Cuba last week, saying both "are atheist in their conception of man and life."

#### Low voter turnout doesn't faze Namphy

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — The leader of the ruling military-civilian council, Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, said the low interest in the Sunday balloting — turnout was believed to be between 5 and 20 percent — reflected Haitians' lack of experience in voting.

"They are not used to this," Namphy said after casting his ballot.

Results of the vote for members of a constitutional assembly should be available Monday.

#### Mexico to protest Superfund oil tax

MEXICO CITY — Mexico, a top supplier of oil to the United States, said it will protest the new Superfund environmental law imposing taxes on imported oil.

"The discriminating tax against imports is contrary to the spirit of cooperation and cordial understanding in which Mexico and the United States have based their bilateral relations," a Foreign Ministry statement said.

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## EVENTS



#### WEDDING PLANS?

Sat. Oct. 25 Once you register with our complimentary computerized Bridal Registry, you'll receive 25 personalized note cards, and be eligible for our "Couple of the Year" grand prize drawing! Plus, enjoy informal modeling of trousseau fashions by Macy's By Appointment and bridal designs from the Sue Gordon Bridal Salon. You'll browse through wedding invitations from the Store at the Post, meet Lenox China representatives and enjoy champagne and hors d'oeuvres, courtesy of the Hollywood Beach Hilton. Please reserve early, 937-7000 ext. 205. Tabletop Department, Third Level, 10-12noon.

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# Gorbachev gambit at talks shocked Reagan

## U.S. was flustered by concessions on arms

By JAMES MCCARTNEY  
Herald Washington Bureau  
WASHINGTON — The thunderbolt struck within minutes after Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev sat down in Hofli House in Iceland, according to State Department officials.

The methodical Gorbachev, who had asked for the meeting, donned his glasses, removed a thick sheaf of papers from his briefcase and began to read from a three-page text.

In the next hour, as State Department officials now describe it, Gorbachev made major Soviet concessions on 75 percent of an arms control agenda that had been frozen for more than five years in negotiations in Geneva.

It was an effort that President Reagan did not discuss Oct. 13 in his televised report to the nation on the summit. He made no mention of either sweeping Soviet concessions or American surprise. But the picture that has emerged from a series of interviews with top American officials, and from a detailed examination of the public record, is one of considerable administration disarray.

It is a picture sharply different from the one presented in the high-powered public relations campaign of the last three weeks aimed at portraying a summit success.

A third radio outlet, the Lebanese Christian Broadcasting Corp., repeated Friday's radio reports that eight hostages were moved to a Syrian intelligence base near Lebanese-Syrian border.

The station said Waite was in

## Colleges push jobs over academics, 3-year study finds

### Carnegie panel urges reform to restore quality education

From Herald Wire Services  
NEW YORK — A three-year study by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching said Saturday the nation's undergraduate colleges are in deep academic trouble and recommended widespread reforms.

"Driven by careerism and overshadowed by graduate and professional education, many of the nation's colleges and universities are more successful in credentialing than in providing a quality education for their students," the report says. "It is not that the failure of the undergraduate college is so large but that the expectations are so small."

The foundation's report on the colleges, which grant 945,000 bachelor degrees each year, cited soaring expense, passive students, poor freshman performance in reading, writing and math, too much emphasis on "big-time sports" and poor coordination of intellectual and social life on campus.

"Although the conclusions about how to resolve the problems may vary, there is general agreement that there are significant problems on most American college campuses," said Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation.

"Parents and taxpayers are demanding reform," he said. "Many told us the cost of college is outrageous."

The cost of one year's schooling ranges from less than \$1,000 a year at public colleges to over \$16,000 at private ones.

In an effort to market themselves, the foundation said, many institutions have tried to be "all things to all people."



## Digging out

Jon Tarkington, 9, clears the steps of his Denver home Saturday after nearly 4 inches of snow fell there. The season's coldest blast dumped up to 14 inches from the Rockies to the Plains.

## How jail escapee joined rebels' supply network

Cuban exiles debate aid / 15A  
Soldiers testify against flier / 30A

By SAM DILLON and GUY GUGLIOTTA  
Herald Staff Writers

Friends of a Cuban exile accused of terrorism took advantage of a secret contra supply network to give him a new identity after his escape from a Venezuelan jail last year, telephone records and interviews show.

Salvadoran phone records show that calls from a San Salvador house rented by "Ramon Medina" were placed to the Miami homes or offices of a number of people with close connections to the accused bomber, Luis Posada Carriles. Among the recipients of the calls were Posada's wife, his family doctor and a longtime friend.

Eugene Hasenfus, the captive American flight crewman, last month named "Medina" as one of two Cuban exiles directing contra supply flights at a Salvadoran Air Force base. Nicaraguan authorities later said that Medina and Posada were the same person. Now, Posada's doctor and another friend have acknowledged in interviews that Posada made the calls from the Medina "safe house."

It is still unclear who ordered, controlled and paid for the contra supply effort mounted from San Salvador's Hopango Air Base. It is also unclear who authorized Posada, whose whereabouts are unknown — to join it. But the new evidence shows that the contra support system was used in this instance to harbor an interna-

## 100 die in fight as contras flee into Honduras

From Herald Wire Services

Nicaraguan government and contra forces battled along the Honduras-Nicaragua border Saturday, and rebel sources said thousands of Nicaraguan soldiers had chased the contras more than three miles into Honduras.

Both sides reported at least 100 people had been killed in heavy fighting which broke out in the border region Oct. 24.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said Sandinista soldiers had killed 80 rebels and wounded 120 others in the clashes through Wednesday. He said 21 Sandinista soldiers had been killed and 16 wounded.

"There have been five days of intense, uninterrupted combat," Ortega said during a speech at a youth rally in the town of Jinotega, 72 miles north of Managua. "Our troops are containing attacks by the main body of the mercenary forces that have concentrated in Honduras to try to penetrate into Nicaragua."

Ortega said two Sandinista coun-

14A

## The Contra Supply Network

The Miami Herald  
Sunday, November 2, 1986

## How a fugitive joined rebel aid network

American officials deny they knew of his role

POSADA/From 1A

U.S. officials have not denied that they monitored the supply operation, but maintained in interviews last week that they knew nothing of Posada's participation. "We obviously had no knowledge of this man's presence in El Salvador. If indeed he was there," a White House spokesman said.

## 'Far-fetched'

Intelligence and law enforcement sources familiar with Cuban exile activities said however, that it was difficult to believe that the appearance in El Salvador of a man with Posada's extensive espionage portfolio would have gone unnoticed. "There is no way Posada could have gotten involved inside Ilopango without some [CIA] agency involvement," said a Washington-based law enforcement official. An intelligence source described as "far-fetched" the official U.S. government details.

Posada, a one-time CIA agent, Bay of Pigs veteran and explosives expert, escaped Aug. 18, 1985, from a Venezuelan prison. Venezuelan authorities have accused Posada and Miami pediatrician Orlando Bosch of masterminding a 1976 bombing that destroyed a Cubana de Aviacion DC-8 airliner shortly after it took off from Bridgetown, Barbados. Seventy-three died.

Although the U.S. role in the Ilopango supply operation remains ambiguous, it is clear from interviews and documents that Posada's friends broke him out of jail in a carefully planned plot, secretly spirited him across the Caribbean and took advantage of the clandestine contra world to stash him in Central America.

exile couple sold his house for about \$11,000, sending half the money to Posada and half to his wife Nieves in Miami. On Aug. 18, 1985, after paying the equivalent of \$28,600 in all to prison authorities, Posada walked out of the San Juan de los Morros jail some 60 miles south of Caracas and disappeared. The source of the remainder of the bribe money is unknown.

A Miami wholesaler and Bay of Pigs veteran who said he had spoken with one of two Cuban exiles who aided Posada in his escape said that Posada was told while he was still in prison that a job with the contras was waiting for him in El Salvador.

Posada's Venezuelan lawyer, Francisco Leandro Mora, would not confirm this, but admitted that the escape "was meticulously planned" with plenty of outside help. It was designed "to get Luis out of the country within 24 hours," he said.

## Forced to hide

According to Leandro Mora and Venezuelan journalist Rafael del Naranco, who later interviewed Posada, the conspirators missed signals in the first hours after the escape, however, and were forced to hide the fugitive in a Caracas apartment building for about a month. When public uproar over the escape subsided, the conspirators took Posada to another safe house on Venezuela's Caribbean coast, Leandro Mora and Del Naranco said.

It is still unclear exactly how much time Posada spent in this second hideout. But he sent at least two letters to friends in Caracas, one dated Oct. 9, 1985, the other dated Oct. 29.

The letters give a sense of Posada's depression: "I am free, but I feel a deep sadness because my friends are still in prison."



Luis Posada Carriles: Bribed way out of Venezuelan prison.



Orlando Bosch: Charged with Posada in airliner attack.

week. "The answer is no. The same answer holds for Ramon Posada or any other names or aliases."

By April, Posada had set up housekeeping in a two-story stucco house in a fancy San Salvador neighborhood. He apparently felt comfortable enough to sit for an interview with Miami friend Ernesto Avila and Venezuelan journalist Del Naranco "somewhere in Central America."

## 'Like a chameleon'

Del Naranco's report said Posada claimed to have undergone extensive plastic surgery. The Miami businessman said he was certain that claim was untrue and had been planted only to confuse Posada's potential trackers. Posada's attorney said his client was, in

others working in the Ilopango supply operation were routinely using their safe-house telephones to call family and friends in Miami and elsewhere.

Posada called Miami physician Dr. Alberto Hernandez from his safe house July 23, records obtained from the Salvadoran phone utility ANTEL show.

Hernandez said last week that he had been the Posada family physician for years. "I talked about medical treatment for his family, and that's it," Hernandez said of the call. "I didn't want to get into any long discussion of his situation."

Hernandez, a prominent physician active in both Cuban exile causes and in providing medical aid to wounded contras, heads an informal committee that raises funds on behalf of the Cuban airliner defendants.

One of its members is Bay of Pigs veteran Sylva Cuervo, an old friend of Posada and the godfather of Posada's son. Phone records show that, in July, Posada called Cuervo in Miami at least twice from his safe house. Cuervo said in an interview that Posada may also have called on other occasions. He said they discussed family problems.

The records also show that Posada's wife received phone calls on July 13, 23, 27 and 29 from the San Salvador house. Mrs. Posada did not respond to messages left Thursday and Friday.

Several Cuban American sources suggested in interviews that Hernandez's and Cuervo's Committee to Free Orlando Bosch could have channeled money to finance Posada's escape. Both men said they respected Posada's decision to flee prison but had opposed escape because it might harm Bosch's efforts to free himself legally.

"We didn't provide money to get Posada out, ever," Hernandez said.

Besides Posada's own calls, someone phoned over 60 times this summer from Posada's house to Miami's Southern Air Transport, a one-time CIA firm that apparently serviced Hasenfus' doomed contra supply plane.

Rodriguez — Posada's co-worker — also apparently made liberal use of Posada's safe house phone. He called his family in Miami and his friend Eugenio Rolando Martinez, a Bay of Pigs veteran and convicted Watergate burglar. Martinez said Rodriguez asked for video movies.

And from the phone in Rodriguez's own rented house around the block from Posada, someone called the White House office of Lt. Col. Oliver North, a close supervisor of private contra aid efforts.

"While it is possible that the U.S. government didn't know about the presence of this guy [Posada] in Ilopango, I find that far-fetched," said an intelligence source with long experience in Cuban exile and contra affairs. "Uncle Sam must have had a good fix on him. It is more plausible that Uncle Sam knew who he was and that his presence there did not bother us."

Posada faces no criminal charges. The United States, law enforcement records show.

Leonardo Somarriva, spokesman for the contra alliance UNO, said he was unable to confirm that Posada had worked at Ilopango. He said the question was of "no concern."

"If you hire an outfit to do a job for you, it doesn't make you responsible for everybody in that outfit," he said. "We are not a government. We don't have the capability to check everybody out."

Herald Washington correspondent Alfonso Chardy and staff writer Tim Golden in San Salvador contributed to this report.

### 'Far-fetched'

Intelligence and law enforcement sources familiar with Cuban exile activities said however, that it was difficult to believe that the appearance in El Salvador of a man with Posada's extensive espionage portfolio would have gone unnoticed.

"There is no way Posada could have gotten involved inside Ilopango without some [CIA] agency involvement," said a Washington-based law enforcement official. An intelligence source described as "far-fetched," the official U.S. government denies.

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A 1977 CIA biography says Posada, now 58, first received

**'Nicaragua is a fight that belongs to the Nicaraguans. It is an error to dedicate the Cubans' efforts to the Nicaraguan cause.'**

**Andres Nazario Sargen,**  
Alpha 66

demolition and weapons training before the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. He formally joined the CIA in 1965 as a military instructor and informant on the activities of several Cuban exile organizations plotting to overthrow the Communist government of Fidel Castro.

In 1965, the CIA document says, Posada collaborated briefly with Guatemalan conspirators seeking to tap his demolitions expertise for a coup d'etat in that country. In 1967 he moved to Venezuela where he held a variety of high-level jobs in government intelligence and special police operations for seven years. In 1974 he resigned as operations chief of the Venezuelan intelligence service to set up his own security agency.

CIA informant

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Posada's Venezuelan lawyer, Francisco Leandro Mora, would not confirm this, but admitted that the escape "was meticulously planned" with plenty of outside help. It was designed "to get Luis out of the country within 24 hours," he said.

### Forced to hide

According to Leandro Mora and Venezuelan journalist Rafael del Naranco, who later interviewed Posada, the conspirators missed signals in the first hours after the escape, however, and were forced to hide the fugitive in a Caracas apartment building for about a month. When public uproar over the escape subsided, the conspirators took Posada to another safe house on Venezuela's Caribbean coast, Leandro Mora and Del Naranco said.

It is still unclear exactly how much time Posada spent in this second hideout. But he sent at least two letters to friends in Caracas, one dated Oct. 9, 1985, the other dated Oct. 29.

The letters give a sense of Posada's depression: "I am free, but I feel a deep sadness because my friends are still in prison."

Although he was trapped for the moment, the network of Cuban exiles and sympathizers that had sprung him from jail now allowed him to send messages to friends and family more or less as he wished. "Where I am there is a total absence of news, and I don't know what's happening. Nieves will call you and will transmit information to a friend who will get it to me through a complex system of communications," said one letter. He enclosed a Miami telephone number for his wife.

Del Naranco said Posada spent a bit over two weeks on the Venezuelan coast, then flew or sailed to a "nearby island" which Leandro Anaya identified as "Aruba, Bonaire or Curacao," tiny Dutch territories just a few miles off the beach.

The Miami wholesaler said that the two men who eventually accompanied Posada across the Caribbean were both middle-aged anti-Castro activists from Miami. The older of the two exiles had been a lieutenant in Cuba's Bureau of Anti-Communist Repression under former strongman Fulgencio Batista, he said. Both men were Bay of Pigs veterans who had worked for several months in their off hours raising money for and shipping supplies to the contras.

### 'Unknown soldiers'

"Unknown soldiers" in the anti-Communist struggle, the wholesaler called them.



**Luis Posada Carriles: Bribed way out of Venezuelan prison.**

week. "The answer is no. The same answer holds for Ramon Posada, or any other names or aliases."

By April, Posada had set up a house in a fancy San Salvador neighborhood. He apparently felt comfortable enough to sit for an interview with Miami friend Ernesto Aviñón and Venezuelan journalist Del Naranco "somewhere in Central America."

### 'Like a chameleon'

Del Naranco's report said Posada claimed to have undergone extensive plastic surgery. The Miami businessman said he was certain that claim was untrue and had been planted only to confuse Posada's potential trackers. Posada's attorney said his client was, in



**Orlando Bosch: Charged with Posada in airliner attack.**

any event, "like a chameleon" — an expert in disguise.

Little is known about Posada's work at Ilopango. Downed American crewman Hasenfus said "Medina" was little more than an errand boy for "Gomez." Other sources suggest that Posada had greater responsibility and certainly had greater freedom of movement.

Several times, Posada contacted Hernan Ricardo, still jailed in Venezuela for the Cuban jetliner bombing — from several places. One letter to Ricardo in late spring included a photograph taken in Peñas Blancas, a tiny settlement on the Nicaraguan border with Costa Rica. Small groups of contras have often worked in that area.

In El Salvador, meanwhile, Posada, Rodriguez, Hasenfus and

others and in providing medical aid to wounded contras, heads an informal committee that raises funds on behalf of the Cuban airliner defendants.

One of its members is Bay of Pigs veteran Sylva Cuervo, an old friend of Posada and the godfather of Posada's son. Phone records show that, in July, Posada called Cuervo in Miami at least twice from his safe house. Cuervo said in an interview that Posada may also have called on other occasions. He said they discussed family problems.

The records also show that Posada's wife received phone calls on July 13, 23, 27 and 29 from the San Salvador house. Mrs. Posada did not respond to messages left Thursday and Friday.

Several Cuban American sources suggested in interviews that Hernandez's and Cuervo's Committee to Free Orlando Bosch could have channeled money to finance Posada's escape. Both men said they respected Posada's decision to flee prison, but had opposed escape because it might harm Bosch's efforts to free himself legally.

"We didn't provide money to get Posada out, ever," Hernandez said.

Lt. Col. Oliver North, a close supervisor of private contra aid efforts.

"While it is possible that the U.S. government didn't know about the presence of this guy [Posada] in Ilopango, I find that far-fetched," said an intelligence source with long experience in Cuban exile and contra affairs. "Uncle Sam must have had a good fix on him. It is more plausible that Uncle Sam knew who he was and that his presence there did not bother us."

Posada faces no criminal charges in the United States, law enforcement records show.

Leonardo Somarriba, spokesman for the contra alliance UNO, said he was unable to confirm that Posada had worked at Ilopango. He said the question was of "no concern."

"If you hire an outfit to do a job for you, it doesn't make you responsible for everybody in that outfit," he said. "We are not a government. We don't have the capability to check everybody out."

Herald Washington correspondent Alfonso Chardy and staff writer Tim Golden in San Salvador contributed to this report.

# WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT JEWELRY

of several Cuban exile organizations plotting to overthrow the Communist government of Fidel Castro.

In 1965, the CIA document says, Posada collaborated briefly with Guatemalan conspirators seeking to tap his demolitions expertise for a coup d'etat in that country. In 1967 he moved to Venezuela where he held a variety of high-level jobs in government intelligence and special police operations for seven years. In 1974 he resigned as operations chief of the Venezuelan intelligence service to set up his own security agency.

#### CIA informant

Throughout the period, the agency document said, Posada remained on the CIA payroll, routinely passing along information on Venezuelan secret police activities and Cuban exile affairs. Exiles respected him as a dedicated anti-Castro militant and a highly rated counterinsurgency expert.

In June 1976 Posada — and Bosch, among others — attended an anti-Castroist "summit" in the Dominican Republic, where numerous terrorist missions were assigned. A string of bombings followed in Colombia, Panama, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados.

Posada's above-ground career abruptly ended in October 1976 when Venezuelan authorities arrested him and Bosch as the suspected "intellectual authors" of the airliner bombing. Two younger men, Freddy Lugo and Hernan Ricardo, Posada's part-time Venezuelan photo technician, were arrested for placing the bomb.

The case has languished in a variety of Venezuelan courts for 10 years, during which Posada, a "spirited and bold man," chafed at the snail's pace of Venezuelan justice, according to Salvador Romani, a Cuban exile leader in Caracas. Posada twice tried and failed to escape. He told Romani and other friends after the second attempt that "if he didn't get out he was going to kill himself."

Posada, Romani said, "was a desperate man."

The prison break, when it finally came, was easy, at least in the initial stages. Venezuelan Cabinet ministers later said Posada had been paying key penitentiary officials a daily stipend to buy their complicity in his escape. In mid-1985 a friendly

accompanied Posada across the Caribbean were both middle-aged anti-Castro activists from Miami, with businesses and families. The older of the two exiles had been a lieutenant in Cuba's Bureau of Anti-Communist Repression under former strongman Fulgencio Batista, he said. Both men were Bay of Pigs veterans who had worked for several months in their off hours raising money for and shipping supplies to the contras.

#### 'Unknown soldiers'

"Unknown soldiers" in the anti-Communist struggle, the wholesaler called them.

The wholesaler, who met Posada in the U.S. Army and also knew him in Venezuela, said the two men stayed with the fugitive throughout the odyssey.

"A guy in jail nine years can't be left alone on the street," he said. Sometime late last fall, Posada and his friends flew to a private sugar plantation in the Dominican Republic, the source said, changed planes, then proceeded to a logging camp in Honduras.

There, the wholesaler said, Posada's friends provided him with a Salvadoran passport — official-looking but false. Duly documented, Posada crossed into El Salvador without incident and began his new life as "Ramon Medina," the source said.

Several Cuban American sources in Miami said they believed that Jorge Mas Canosa, chairman of the Cuban American National Foundation and another Bay of Pigs veteran, had used his influential contacts in Washington to arrange Posada's Ilopango job. Mas Canosa denied this.

"I like the guy, but Posada is the subject of judicial proceedings" in Venezuela, Mas said Friday. "He hasn't been found guilty, but due to those circumstances I wouldn't have gotten involved."

Another Bay of Pigs veteran said it was likely that Posada had been brought into the contra operation by Felix Rodriguez, a longtime Cuban American CIA agent whom Vice President George Bush recommended as an adviser to the Salvadoran Armed Forces. When Posada arrived, Rodriguez was already working in Ilopango as "Max Gomez."

"We have been asked if Mr. Bush knew or knows Ramon Medina," Steven Hart, the vice president's spokesman, said last

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